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THE PAPAL CONCLAVES

REV. A. R. PENNINGTON, M.A.

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THE PAPAL CONCLAVES

BY THE

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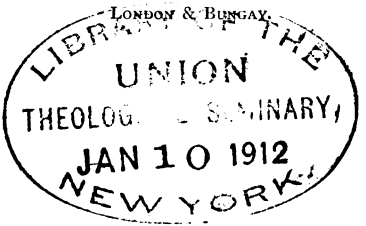

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PREFACE

THIS history of the arrangements connected with Papal elections appeared in an article by me in the *Quarterly Review* for October 1896, and is now published in an expanded form with the consent of Mr. Murray. This subject has hitherto been hardly touched because the materials for it were for the most part inaccessible. But now students are beginning to turn their attention to the Italian archives recently laid open to them. The richness of these virgin mines, as they may be called, exceeds description. Until they have been examined, we cannot recover the exact form of particular Conclaves. When they have been examined, we shall see a striking contrast between the mean causes which have often produced Papal elections and the important issues depending upon them.

Points of interest connected with Conclaves, involved in mystery only because they are intricate, have, however, been clearly ascertained by various

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writers. Mr. Cartwright, of Edinburgh, has examined the materials for their history up to 1868, and in a learned and laborious work has collected much information about them. Mr. Trollope, in a work published in 1876, has explained the modifications which, as the result of experience, have altered the laws governing these assemblies. I have also, in my history of the Church in Italy, traced from the earliest times the growth of the system of Papal elections. Commendatore Berthelet has collected a large number of previously unpublished documents, illustrating the views taken by different Pontiffs of the question of nepotism, the temporal power, the duties and rights of the Cardinals, and the mode of electing the Pope. Finally, the recent work on Papal Conclaves, by Lucius Lector, is at once interesting and remarkable. The author, who is alleged to be an eminent prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, has drawn from original sources a full description of the election of the Bishop of Rome from the earliest times, and has given a history of the events which have rendered necessary changes in the method of his election. I cannot accept all his statements, nor agree with all his conclusions. But I can strongly commend his work for the frankness with which he has taken us behind the scenes, and the careful research which has enabled him to describe with elaborate exhaustiveness the Conclave system in its actual working.

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THE PAPAL CONCLAVES

CHAPTER I

THE ELECTION OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME BEFORE THE FIRST CONCLAVE

The appointment of the Bishops in the early ages—Contests for the Bishopric—Decree forbidding the Pope to appoint his successor—Interference of the King of Italy and the Emperor in the election—Deep abasement of the Papacy—The remedy for the evil—Benefits conferred by Leo IX.—Hildebrand, Gregory VII., the Reformer of Papal elections—The Council which established the Conclave.

THE rule in the Church of Rome from a very early age was that the Bishop should be appointed by the clergy and bishops of the Roman province with the consent of the laity. This dignity was an object of ambition even when the Church abode in the Catacombs, and was obliged to struggle for her existence with the armed followers of the Imperial persecutor. We might, therefore, naturally suppose that there would be a dispute for it when

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we find, after the conversion of Constantine, that she had greatly degenerated from the simplicity of the early ages; that a tide of wealth had flowed in upon her; that a mitre rich with gems adorned the brows of the Bishop of Rome; and that he was surrounded with the ensigns of earthly sovereignty. A fierce contest for it was carried on in the fourth century between Damasus and Ursicinus. The clashing of the sword, the sound of riven helmets, was heard as the combatants fought hand to hand in the streets of Rome. The churches were deluged with blood. Dead bodies were scattered about the streets. The contest, often renewed, was at length decided in favour of Damasus. He was bishop from 366 to 384.

These scenes, the natural product of a mode of election which admitted the suffrage of the people and clergy, were renewed periodically. In the year 493, the arch-presbyter Laurentius was brought forward as a candidate for the Papacy. The candidate of the opposite party, Symmachus, was elected before him in one Church, and Laurentius was elected afterwards in another. The city was again plunged into the turmoil of a contest for the Papacy. The dead bodies were lying in heaps in the street. Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, was at this time king of Italy. He was an Arian, but he respected the conscientious convictions of his subjects. An appeal was now made to him to settle the dispute. Then Rome reaped the advantage

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of his enlightened toleration. His sentence was—"The candidate first elected, if also the candidate elected by most voices, ought to be Pope." He who fulfilled these conditions was Symmachus.

This Pope afterwards called a Council in which for the first time a decree was passed forbidding the Pope to nominate his successor. In another respect this Pontificate was memorable. The power of interfering in the election of the Pope, gained through the turbulence of the citizens, was afterwards, when Theodoric became tyrannical in his old age, exercised in the appointment of Felix IV. to the Bishopric of Rome. The Emperor Justinian, after his conquest of Italy, making use of the precedent thus given to him, exercised the same power of interfering in the election to the Papacy. The rule was then made that the election should be confirmed by the Emperor. We know that afterwards Charlemagne, when, on the withdrawal of the Byzantine Empire from Italy, he had been invested by Leo III. with the diadem of the Holy Roman Empire, with the full consent of the clergy and people of Rome, confirmed the appointments to the Papal See. We observe that Lucius Lector asserts that he did not claim that right. But there can be no question that Hadrian I., in the decree quoted as "Hadrianus Papa" (Corpus Juris Canonici, Dist. LXIII. c. 22), had granted it to him. The Pope in those days, so far from wishing to destroy the Imperial power, thought

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that the preservation of it was absolutely indispensable to the maintenance of his own dominion. Just as some powerful baron was chosen by the monasteries to beat back the enemy from the lands which he was threatening to lay waste, so the Emperor was to defend the Roman Catholic Church, to wage war with heretics and unbelievers, and to plant the standard of the Cross in heathen countries.

The Popes had previously developed their designs of aggrandizement. Upon the mind of Innocent I. (A.D. 402—417) had first dawned the idea of Rome's universal empire. His successors, favoured by circumstances, had laboured to compact and consolidate the structure. Pope Leo I. asserted the universal jurisdiction of his See. His persevering successors slowly enthralled Italy, Illyricum, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. By his writings and the fame of his personal sanctity, by the conversion of England, and the introduction of a grand ritual, Gregory the Great did more than any other Pontiff to advance Rome's ecclesiastical authority. The Popes were, at the time now before us, developing a design to reign supreme over the monarchs as well as over the Churches of Europe. By the invention and adoption of the False Decretals, they had provided themselves with a legal system suited to every emergency. But this design was suspended by the continued degradation of the Papacy. Italy was for seventy years from 890 a prey

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to intestine disorders. One emperor after another had been raised to the throne. The authority of none of them, however, was recognized in Italy. The consequence was the deep abasement, almost the annihilation of the Papacy. Men who outraged all laws, divine and human, were raised to the Papal throne by the petty princes who had risen up in Italy, and by the unprincipled nobility, the intriguing clergy, and the venal populace of the metropolis. Lucius Lector has worked out well the influence of political movements on the position of the Papacy. The consent of the Emperor had given the Christian world some control over the election. But the Empire was now in abeyance. Even shameless courtesans, Theodora, and her daughters Marozia and Theodora, had influence enough to place their lovers and sons in the Papal chair. Lucius Lector endeavours to extenuate the evil by discrediting the authority of the historian Luitprand. But there can be no doubt as to the substantial accuracy of his statements. Whoever now obtained the mastery in Rome nominated the Pope. Many of the Popes, after having enjoyed for a short time their dignity, were deposed, or hurried away to prison, where they perished by the bowl of poison, or by the dagger of the assassin. A succession of Popes from 936, Leo VII., Stephen IX., Martin III., and Agapetus II., appointed by the will of Alberic the master of Rome, pass over the throne of the

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Papacy, leaving no more signs of their power in Rome than the barque leaves on the surface of the ocean.

At length a remedy for the evil was found. Otho I., who had given proof of his power by consolidating the Empire of Germany, having been invited by John XII. to revive the claim of his ancestors to the crown of Italy, and to terminate the reign of disorder in that country, descended on its plains with a force which bore down all opposition, and was crowned King of Italy in Rome in the year 962. This coronation by the Pope was considered indispensable to the assumption of the Imperial title. One of the first acts of Otho was to depose Pope John on account of his vices, and to nominate a new Pope, Leo VIII. The Pope and the citizens were now obliged to yield to the Emperor an absolute veto on Papal elections. The Papacy was disposed of by his son Otho II., and his grandson Otho III. The Romans, however, indignant because their privilege to appoint the universal bishop was taken from them by the hand of a master, often, as soon as the Imperial standards had disappeared in the gorges of the Tyrol, deposed the Pope so nominated, and relapsed into their condition of stormy independence. The degradation of the Papacy continued after the death of Otho III. From the year 1002 to 1046, the Papal chair was occupied by infamous men, appointed by the Counts of Tusculum, the masters

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of Rome, who had bought the venal people. At one time three candidates for the Papacy encountered one another with carnal weapons in the streets of Rome. At length the Emperor Henry III., obeying a summons from Rome, crossed the Alps, and deposed the three claimants, "the three devils," as they were called by an unceremonious contemporary. Henry nominated for the office three Popes who laboured to cleanse the polluted sanctuary. The third, Leo IX., will be for ever memorable, because he was the means of bringing forward the great master spirit of the age, Hildebrand, Gregory VII., prominently on the world's high stage.

This distinguished Pope was fired with the ambition of carrying out the design of his predecessors, and of making Rome the arbiter of the spiritual and temporal destinies of Christendom. The pilgrims on their return from Rome had carried through Europe the report of the utter degradation of the Papacy. Even those who received with unwavering submission the decrees of the Pope could hardly believe that the fiends who reigned at Rome had a claim on their allegiance. Leo felt sure that he should be able to rehabilitate the Papacy. He would go forth and preach to the nations of Europe by the silent eloquence of a holy life. He would show to them that his great object was to promote the moral and spiritual regeneration of Europe. Through his efforts, first

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of all Rome was rescued from the gulf of abasement into which she had sunk during the preceding century. He deposed those bishops in France or Germany who had been guilty of simony, murder, or unnatural crimes. If he had not taken this course, France and Spain would have cast off their allegiance to the Papacy. He had by this campaign restored the Papacy to its authority over the minds of men. He came back to Italy, having gained an influence which enabled him to repress the turbulent spirit of the nobility, and could reflect with pleasure that he had confirmed the wavering multitude in their allegiance to the See of Rome.

He conferred another benefit on the Church of Rome. We learn from Lucius Lector that Hildebrand, whom he had brought with him from the monastery of Cluny, had derived from him the idea of the mode of reforming Papal elections. He was the ruling spirit of the Papacy under five successive Pontificates. The scandalous scenes, the bribery at every election, and the disgraceful conduct of many of the Popes, had convinced all thinking men that a reform must be made if Rome was to continue to appoint the Pope whose spiritual rule extended over Europe. We have full information on this subject from the works by Lucius Lector and Commendatore Berthelet. In compliance with the urgent request of Hildebrand, a Council was summoned at Rome in 1059, in which a change was made in the mode of election

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to the Papal See, which, with some modifications, continues in force to the present time. As many were anxious that the German Empire should have no influence in the elections, the Imperial rights were reserved very ambiguously. The decree vested the election in the higher clergy, the cardinal-bishops, who were the bishops in the Roman territory, and the cardinal-priests, who were the rectors of the churches at Rome. The inferior clergy and people had no voice in the election; they could only give their consent to it. The Pope must be chosen from the Roman clergy unless there should be no one among them qualified for the high dignity. If from any cause the election could not take place at Rome, the electors, however few they might be, might proceed to an election in another city. The grace of God is then implored for all those who faithfully observe the decree of the Council.

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CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCLAVE SYSTEM

The Bull establishing the Conclave imperfect—The struggle of the people to recover their right to a share in the election—Important change in the mode of election made by Alexander III.—Definite constitution of the Sacred College—Dispute at Viterbo as to the election of the Pope—Important change in the mode of election to which it led—Description of the decree of Gregory X.—Subsequent additions to it.

HILDEBRAND, either as pontifical adviser or as Pope, cannot be said to have organized the Conclave, or the assembly for the election of the Pope. He had, however, prepared the way for it by the formation of a purely ecclesiastical body. Details remained which time and custom could alone determine. The Bull of Nicolas II. was imperfect, because it did not settle the number of votes required for a canonical election. Another difficulty became prominent at once. It was not probable that the clergy and people would resign without a struggle the privilege of taking an active share in the election of the Pontiff. It was long

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before the claim was relinquished. In the time of Alexander III., who was elected in 1159 without their consent, they revenged themselves by supporting the Anti-popes, whom the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa had raised up for the purpose of asserting his authority over the priesthood. We are informed that previously, Lucius II., in 1144, had been elected by the clergy and people. Otto of Freisingen also informs us, in his chronicle, that Eugenius III., in 1145, was elected by their common vote, and that Adrian IV. was enthroned by them. We can only say that the line of demarcation between *de jure* and *de facto* was constantly changing, but that the tendency was towards the recognition of an exclusive right of election in the College of Cardinals.

The pontificate of Alexander III. was signalized by an important change in the mode of Papal elections. It was natural that a Pope who had suffered so much from the persistent hostility of many Anti-popes, from the time when he fled before the Anti-pope from Rome, and was hastily consecrated in the parish church of Ninfa—that forsaken town, mirrored in the transparent waters of a hushed mere, which stands in the Pontine Marshes—should have felt the importance of removing all uncertainty as to the number of those qualified to vote, which had given strength to the cause of several pretenders to the Papacy. Accordingly, when he found himself victor in the conflict

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which he had carried on with an undying spirit for twenty-two years, he summoned, in 1179, a Council to meet in the Lateran Palace, in which he caused a decree to be promulgated, to the effect that no election shall be valid with a majority of less than two-thirds of the Sacred College; and that he who, elected by a smaller number of votes, shall usurp the pontifical dignity, shall be excommunicated. We observe also that there has been an advance when we find that there is no reference to the consent of the Emperor, even in the discreet terms employed by Nicolas II.; and that no mention is made of the participation of the inferior clergy and people in the election. The Sacred College is definitely constituted by the union of all the Cardinals of different orders, bishops, priests, and deacons, in the same body. The number of electors constantly varied through the following centuries, until it was fixed by Sixtus V., in 1585, at seventy, which number has never been exceeded, and may be considered as the complement of the Sacred College.

We observe that the legislation is still incomplete. No condition of form in the election is prescribed. Practical experience must supply the organic laws of the Conclave. After the death of Clement IV. in 1268, there were two parties in the Conclave, the one favourable to the invasion of Italy by Charles of Anjou, the other opposed to it. Eighteen Cardinals assembled in Viterbo, and for

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two years and nine months disputed about the nomination of the Pope. Charles of Anjou took up his abode in Viterbo, hoping to coerce the Cardinals into the election of one of his creatures. The citizens of Viterbo tried the effect of physical hardship on the Cardinals. They stripped the Episcopal Palace of its roof, so that the Cardinals were exposed to the inclemency of the weather. But these sharp measures produced no effect upon them. For more than a year they continued to fight among themselves, until at length they were induced to give to six of their number the power of nominating the Pope whom the others agreed to acknowledge. This is the first instance of election by compromise. On September 1, 1271, the choice fell on Theobald Visconti, Archdeacon of Liege, who took the name of Gregory X.

This excellent Pope had been deeply grieved at the spectacle exhibited at Viterbo. He, therefore, determined to prevent its recurrence. He summoned a Council at Lyons, one of the objects of which was to give effect to his wishes. In this Council the decree was passed to lock up the Fathers, to prevent the action of secular influences. It was ruled also that on a Pope's decease, ten days should elapse before a Pope could be chosen ; that during the election, they should be lodged in one chamber, so closed as to have no possibility of entrance or exit ; that no one should approach them privately, except on the business of the

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election; that no letters should be sent to them; that the chamber should have but one window, large enough for the admission of food, but not of the human body; that, if in three days they did not come to a decision, on the five following days they should be content with a single dish as well for dinner as supper; that afterwards they should have no other nourishment than bread and water; that during the election they should receive nothing from the Apostolical Chamber, nor any other revenues of the Roman Church; that they should lay aside all private affections, and take heed only to the common welfare of the Church; and that all bargains, all agreements, all undertakings, even though they should be confirmed by an oath, should be held to be of no validity.

This measure is still, with some modifications, and the addition of more minute regulations, the governing statute in all Papal elections. It only gradually prevailed. The restrictions on the comforts of the Cardinals were so severe that they could not be accepted immediately. We learn from Berthelet and Lucius Lector that Clement V. abrogated a rule made at the Council of Lyons, and allowed the Cardinals to have always wine, fish with sauce, salt pork, cheese and fruit, but not sweet-meats. Clement VI. also, by a Bull dated December 6, 1351, allowed the beds of the Cardinals in Conclave to have simple curtains. Pius IV. (1559—1566) directed that the cells in the Con-

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clave should be distributed by lot; that the Cardinals should have their food in their own cells; and that those prelates who watched the Conclave should examine the food, that no letters may be introduced with it.

The rule as to simony was confirmed by Innocent VI. in 1353. Julius II. in 1505 issued a Bull against the simoniacal election of a Pope, which must be considered to possess no validity. The simplicity of the mediæval mind is proved by the absence of any provision for the settlement of the question whether or no an election has been tainted by simony. Many of the subsequent Papal elections were grossly simoniacal. We must in fact come to modern times before we can breathe a purer atmosphere; or discover the absence of that simony which has left an indelible stain on some of the elections to the Papacy.

Once circumstances compelled the abrogation of the rules which have come before us. The well-known Papal schism of forty years, during which rival Popes were wandering about Europe, anathematizing one another, and endeavouring to enlist the princes of Europe in their cause, had nearly nullified the constitutions of Nicolas II., Alexander III., and Gregory X. The Church of Rome delivered herself from these evils by means of the Council of Constance. This Council is distinguished from all the Councils of the Church by the fact that its convocation was due, not to the impulse of

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a Pontiff, but to a general movement in society, which longed for repose from intolerable evils. All the landmarks of legitimacy had been removed. An Egyptian darkness, even a darkness which might be felt, had settled down upon Europe. No one was able to say to which of the Popes his spiritual allegiance was due. The Council of Constance was an uprising of Churchmen in defence of the Church. The Council constituted an especial Electoral College, composed of the Cardinals and thirty divines, selected from its members, five from each nation present, who together could represent the general mind of the Church. Thus the principle was established, that exceptional difficulties demand exceptional remedies. John XXIII. and Gregory XII. were compelled to abdicate, and in their place Martin V. was created Pope.

I should only weary my readers if I were to go minutely through the subsequent changes made in the Conclave. The only organic change was made by Gregory XV., by a Bull issued in 1621. It arranged that the election should take place only in the Conclave; that there should be three forms of election—by scrutiny, by compromise, and by acclamation; that in the election by means of scrutiny, or of scrutiny by access, no one should elect himself; that the Cardinals shall take the following oath—"We call to witness the Lord Jesus Christ, before whose judgment we shall stand, that we elect him who ought to be elected, and the same

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promise we make in the vote by accession; that no one shall confer with any one, even with their own colleagues, on the Pope to be elected; that the scrutiny shall be absolutely secret; and that the publication of the number of votes in scrutiny or in scrutiny and access should be absolutely necessary." These and some other minor regulations as to the election were confirmed by a Bull of Urban VIII., Gregory's successor.

The effect of these rules will be seen presently. The law made by Alexander III. in 1180, that the number of votes required to make an election shall be two-thirds of those present in the Conclave, has remained unchanged to the present time, amid numerous changes of the code, and amid the revolutions of States and Empires.

We shall hereafter have occasion to notice the constitution of the Conclave during the nineteenth century. We must here observe that the preceding Bull, and the Bull of Clement XII. in 1732, have regulated the proceedings of Conclaves since they came into operation. The latter adds nothing of importance to them. Clement shows that he was impressed with a deep sense of the importance of the duties of those who would have to elect after his death, when he tells them that in electing the supreme ruler of the Church they are interpreters of the Divine will; that their proceedings are open to the eyes of Him to whom they bind themselves by a solemn oath; that there is no act of which

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they will find it so difficult to give an account when they stand before God's judgment-seat; that they should keep God constantly before them during the election; that they should not have regard to their own private interests, but to the general interests of the Church; that regardless of the recommendation of princes, and rising superior to every human consideration, they should elect him whom they consider most likely to govern with ability and advantage the Church of Christ committed to his charge. Then follow certain rules designed to apply a remedy to the evils which were the subjects of complaint—the abuse of their power by public functionaries; the tumults which prevailed among the people; the disorders in the civil administration of the provinces, arising from an insufficient definition of the duties of those appointed to represent the cardinal legates during their absence on the business of the election; and the waste of money in the pontifical territory. This Bull, published by Berthelet, is a good specimen of the holiness, of the unselfish, unworldly, and noble spirit displayed by many of the Pontiffs of the eighteenth century, and of their anxiety to promote the highest interests of the Church.

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CHAPTER III

THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONCLAVE

Ceremonies connected with the death of the Pope—The office of the Cardinal Camerlengo—The limitations on the powers of the Cardinals during the interregnum—Description of the riots in the interregnum in former days—The Veto claimed by certain Sovereigns—Description of officers, including Conclavists and the Marshal of the Conclave.

WE have seen the gradual development of Conclaves. We must now endeavour to trace the arrangements connected with the working of the system as they have been gradually developed through successive ages. We shall first describe the ceremonial connected with the death of the Pope. When his last hour seems to be at hand, he summons to his bedside the dignitaries of the pontifical family. The Cardinals assemble round his bed. Upon the Cardinal Penitentiary devolves the duty of ministering to him in his last moments, along with his Confessor. The Sacristan of his Chapel gives him extreme unction. As soon as the Pontiff has breathed his last, word of the event

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is sent to the Cardinal Camerlengo. This official was formerly the most powerful person next to the Pope in the States of the Church. He administered the finances of the Papal States, and had jurisdiction over all secular cases in the city of Rome. But now, as the administration has passed into the hands of the Italian Government, the office of the Camerlengo, who was traditional governor of the States of the Church during a vacancy, is reduced to a mere ceremonial, and his only duty is to give directions as to the arrangements to be made during an interregnum in the Papacy.

Robed in violet, as a sign of mourning, the Camerlengo, accompanied by the prelates of the Camera, enters the chamber where the Pope has breathed his last. Kneeling on a violet cushion, he offers up a silent prayer. While the attendant uncovers the face of the dead Pontiff, the Camerlengo approaches him, and with a silver mallet, strikes him three times on the forehead, calling on the dead Pope by name. On receiving no reply, he turns to those who are present, and declares the Pope to be indeed no more. Then the principal attendant takes the fisherman's ring from the dead man's finger, and places it in the hand of the Camerlengo, who will break it in the presence of his colleagues at the first meeting of the Sacred College. He then directs the tolling of the great bell of the Capitol, to announce to the Romans the death of the Pope. This bell, which

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is tolled only on this occasion and on the opening of the Conclave, has a curious history. It was originally the communal bell of Viterbo. Between this city and Rome there was a fierce enmity in the twelfth century, which, after fierce conflicts, ended with the overthrow of the inhabitants of Viterbo, in the year 1200. By the terms of capitulation, the Romans carried off as trophies, besides the recovered bronze gate of St. Peter's, which the inhabitants had captured in 1167, a chain and city-gate key, and the communal bell, which from that time has been hung in the Capitol.

Nine days must elapse, according to the arrangement originally made by Gregory X., before the meeting of the Conclave. On the third day after the death of the Pope his funeral is solemnized. Meanwhile, in accordance with directions given by Pius IX. before his death, the body of the Pope is placed in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament, and watched by four of the noble guards, with closed gates. Lucius Lector, in an interesting chapter, has well described the gloomy and impressive ceremonial which marks the obsequies of the Pontiff.

Every one of the nine days is occupied with ceremonies which it would be tedious to describe. Every attribute of those assemblies is rigidly fixed. We have here the unmistakable impress of many generations of Popes, who have so circumscribed the powers of the Cardinals during a vacancy as

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to prevent them from being directed against the absolute authority which the Popes will allow to reside only in themselves. "During the vacancy of the See," says Pius IV., in a Bull inserted in the last collection of regulations during an interregnum, "in those things which appertained to the Pope when alive, the College of Cardinals can have no jurisdiction, whether of grace or justice, or of giving execution to such resolutions of the deceased Pope, but is bound to reserve them to the future Pope." These directions are repeated almost word for word in the Bull Apostolatus Officium, issued in 1732 by Clement XII., described in the last chapter.

Only on the occurrence of a "grave peril," by at least two-thirds of the Cardinals, the Sacred College can be released from a literal observance of the limitations upon its prerogatives. The more carefully we study the regulations of the Court of Rome, the more are we impressed with the conviction that there is a subtle elasticity in them, carefully cherished in secret, in case altered circumstances should make it necessary to seek protection in the liberty of individual initiative.

At the present time, the commencement of an interregnum presents no signs of the disturbance of the ordinary quietude of the city. But formerly the case was altogether different. Every kind of misdemeanour reigned and revelled in Rome during this period. The criminals, released from prison,

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enjoyed themselves at the expense of the citizens. Lawlessness was regarded as a right, like the revelry of the Carnival season. These disturbances probably arose from the bands of mercenaries whom the Popes employed for the defence of the Capitol. These men, gathered from all quarters, gladly availed themselves of the opportunity now given to them for the indulgence of their natural love of riot and insubordination. They now rose in mutiny, and demanded the immediate payment of the arrears due to them from the Pope. The consequence was that Rome wore the aspect of a city armed for intestine commotions. Sometimes the nobles assumed the right of arming their own retainers, in defence of the quarter of the city in which their own palaces were situated. But in most cases the authority exercised was the result of a prevailing spirit of riot and insubordination.

"Alas! for the miseries of humanity," writes the historian of the Conclave of Alexander VI., when he speaks of his predecessor Innocent; "his body lay exposed to the crowd, and rude cries of the populace, whose ears had ever been shut to the prayers of the poor; and a small coffin of perishable wood enclosed him who had deemed the gilded halls of the Vatican too narrow for him! But Rome was during this time up in arms, and bands of malefactors were about the city in all directions, and many murders were committed because the tribunals listened to no complaints,

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the judges having shut themselves up from fear of their lives. . . . Gangs of robbers, murderers, and bandits, the very scum of the earth, ranged freely in every part of the city; and the palaces of the Cardinals were guarded by archers and troopers, or they would have been sacked and wrecked. But although all Rome was in arms, there did not occur any notable tumult; only a greater number of people were killed from private enmity. The streets of the Borgo (the part of the city between the Ponte St. Angelo and St. Peter's) were barred and guarded by companies of soldiers and cavalry."

One of the most riotous elections on record is that of 1623, when Urban VIII., Barberini, was raised to the chair of St. Peter.

"Not a day passed," Gigli writes, "without many brawls and murders. Men and women were often found killed in various places, many being without heads, while not a few were found killed who had been thrown into the Tiber. Many houses were broken into at night, and sadly rifled. Doors were thrown down, some women were murdered, and others were ravished. Many young girls were dishonoured, and carried off. As for the Sbirri who tried to make arrests, some were killed outright, and others were grievously maimed and wounded. The chief of the Trastavere region, as he went his rounds at night, and other chiefs of regions were often in danger of their lives. Many of these outrages and acts of insolence were done

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by the soldiers, who were in Rome as guards of the various lords and princes. This was the case especially with those whom the Cardinal of Savoy had brought for his guard. They killed several of the Sbirri who had taken into custody one of their comrades. In short, from day to day, the evil increased so much, that, if the making of a new Pope had been deferred as long as we at one time imagined, through the dissensions of the Cardinals, we had reason to fear that we should be exposed to grievous disasters."

The Papal elections were often made the subject of wagers, which caused riot and disorder. Pius IV. issued in 1562 a Bull, a clause in which forbids them. The twenty-first clause is thus expressed—"We forbid wagers on a Papal election, and we decree that if any should be made, they should be held to be void in Court; and that those thus contravening and their brokers be punished as it may please the Governor and the future Pope. A quarter of Rome, the Banchi, was the place where the rival chances of candidates for the Papacy were publicly quoted and discounted amid scenes which often occasioned riot and disorder. Thus, under the shadow of the Papal throne, and to do them justice, notwithstanding their earnest remonstrances, that gambling was carried on which has been the fruitful parent of the bankruptcy of tradesmen, of the blight which has settled on many happy homes, the desertion of families, the betrayal

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of trusts, of suicides, and of some of the worst murders in the annals of crime.

We come now to the beginning of the Conclave. The first day, or rather the afternoon and evening of the day on which the Cardinals proceed to the place appointed for the Conclave, is full of bustle. The ambassadors of the Roman Catholic sovereigns are then paying them their last visits. They are explaining to them the candidates whose appointment their sovereigns will not tolerate, and on whom they place their veto, in order that, at the right time in the Conclave, the Cardinals may give effect to their wishes; or, if they have not the power to prevent the appointment by veto, are endeavouring by subtle intrigue, by persuasion or menaces, to secure the appointment of one who in a religious and political point of view shall be acceptable to their master. They prolong their visit until three hours after sunset; then the cry *extra omnes* is heard, which obliges all strangers to depart from the neighbourhood of the Conclave. The doors and windows are walled up with the single exception of one or two panes of glass designed to give light in the interior. Every means of ingress or egress is, according to the decree of Gregory X., carefully excluded, except through the door at the head of the staircase, which is carefully locked. Thus begins an imprisonment which, according to the Bulls, must last until the assembled Fathers are able to

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announce that they have given a spiritual father to Christendom.

We must endeavour here to explain the nature and origin of that veto of exclusion of certain candidates, to which reference has been made. The Emperor of Austria, the King of France, and the King of Spain, are the only three Powers which in former days had the right to exercise it. Possibly these Powers possess this privilege because their countries are co-extensive with the ancient empire of Charlemagne, and the veto is, in other words, a relic of the predominant influence which he and his successors exercised on Papal elections. But this conjecture, though plausible, is uncertain; and the origin of the right must remain without explanation till further information has been gathered from the Papal archives, which are now laid open to the public. Whatever the historical explanation of the origin of the privilege may prove to be, it is probably correct to say, with Cardinal Wiseman, that these Powers claim the privilege rather from usage than from any formal deed of gift. The right of exclusion conceded to the sovereign must be carefully distinguished from the power which he possessed, through influence, to prevent the appointment of any one who was obnoxious to him. Philip II. of Spain, for instance, not only possessed the veto, but made the members of the Conclave the creatures of his will, so that he appointed six Popes in

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succession. The benefices and abbeys to which he had the presentation in his extensive dominions, doubtless had considerable influence in determining their choice.

It can be proved, however, that after the reign of Philip, instances of the exercise of the privilege of exclusion by the kings of Spain, when that country occupied a low place in the scale of nations, were of frequent occurrence; that the power of veto possessed by these three nations had ceased to be a subject of discussion; and that in the eighteenth century the right was formally admitted. France, during the same century, certainly under three of her kings, exercised the privilege. The Conclave held in 1700 to elect a successor to Innocent XII., appears to have been the assembly at which the veto of exclusion was formally accepted. Two circumstances prove that the right was exercised at that Conclave. The Emperor had forwarded to his ambassador a formal writ of exclusion, which he was to transmit to the Conclave, if the election of an obnoxious candidate seemed to be imminent. He also sent a number of schedules equal to the number of the candidates to whom he objected. But the most convincing proof of the possession of this veto is that the Sacred College affirmed distinctly that every one of the three Courts could exclude only a single candidate. The Conclavists report that this is a traditional usage, the origin of which they do not

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pretend to explain. No protest can take effect unless it is made before the final majority in the Conclave has been obtained.

At the Conclave of 1823, Austria excluded Cardinal Severoli through the agency of Cardinal Albani. The veto was very unpopular, and an attempt was made to set it aside, on the ground that Cardinal Albani had not been properly authorized by the Court of Vienna to exercise this privilege on its behalf. Severoli continued to receive votes until the Austrian ambassador handed in a note confirming Albani's authority. This note was expressed in the following terms. "I fulfil the unpleasant duty of declaring that the Imperial Court of Vienna is unable to accept his Eminence Severoli as Supreme Pontiff, and gives him a formal exclusion." The party supporting Cardinal Severoli consisted of the party opposing Consalvi, the influential Secretary of State during the previous reign. His enemies were numerous and resolute. As the party was defeated in its choice by this movement, it avenged itself by asking Severoli to indicate the man to whom he gave the preference. He at once named Cardinal Della Genga, who was then elected and reigned as Leo XII. The object was to avenge himself on Consalvi, the influential and affable Secretary of State in Austria, by promoting the appointment of a reactionary bigot who increased the opposition of the Italians to Papal and Austrian rule.

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The latest instance of actual exclusion was in 1831, when Cardinal Giustiani was excluded by Spain, at whose Court he had been Nuncio. The Queen Christina, who considered him an adversary of herself and her daughter Isabella, had obtained from King Ferdinand the veto of exclusion against him. This determination had been kept secret. The Cardinal was on the verge of election, having obtained at the morning's ballot 27 votes, and wanting only 29 to secure his election, when Cardinal Marco of Catalan informed Cardinal Odeschalchi, the nephew of Giustiani, that he was charged to exclude him by order of the King of Spain. As this communication was not expected, some doubts were expressed as to the seriousness of the expressed intention. In consequence of this unwillingness to believe that Giustiani had been excluded, Cardinal Catalan produced a letter from the Spanish Ambassador, Gomez Labrador, dated December 14, 1830, directing him, in obedience to the express order of his Catholic Majesty, to exclude Cardinal Giustiani from the Pontifical throne. The reading of this letter produced a great agitation in the Conclave. Cardinal Giustiani immediately rose, and said that he rejoiced to have been able to render important services to the King in difficult times; and that he should always feel grateful for the honour which the King had conferred upon him. He added that he was not astonished at the veto, because he was well aware

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of the intrigues of Courts, and that he begged to thank the King of Spain for the great favour done to him in excluding him from the Papal throne. No doubt of the power to pronounce the vote of exclusion appears to have been felt by the Conclave. At the scrutiny, which followed immediately, the number of papers bearing the name of Giustiani was reduced to ten. The next day only three were recorded for him. Thus the veto had produced the desired effect. In spite of his expressions of thankfulness, we are informed that the effect of the exclusion had been to cause Giustiani a serious attack of illness, which confined him for some time to his room.

Another veto prepared, but not actually issued, might have been attended with important results. Pius IX. owes his reign of thirty-two years to the insufficiency of the time allowed for the arrival of foreign Cardinals. Cardinal Gaysruch, the Austrian representative, was on his way from Vienna, travelling as fast as post-horses could carry him, bringing with him Austria's veto against Cardinal Mastai Ferretti. He arrived too late, and found that the man he had been sent to exclude had been elected and proclaimed on the previous day. If the railways connecting Vienna with Rome had been constructed we should have had a change in the character of recent political events in Italy, and we might not have heard of that dogma of Papal Infallibility, which must inevitably

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produce, both in religion and politics, consequences which will profoundly affect successive generations.

Lucius Lector has given to us (*Le Conclave*, cc. xiii., xiv.) a very exhaustive description of the exercise of the veto of exclusion by Austria, France, and Spain. This part of his work may be especially commended for learning and research. He has opened for us a new chapter in the history of Europe, derived for the most part from the Papal archives. He further informs us that, on account of foreign and domestic troubles, France and Austria had not interfered in the election of Leo XIII. The Minister of France, however, declared that the French Government had lost none of the privileges which had descended to it through a long historical tradition, and which it has always exercised without any opposition from other Powers of Europe. On the whole, Lucius Lector comes to the conclusion that the Conclave has no power to alter a law which it has not made; that the Pope alone can exercise that power, and that he will not interfere, because the privilege of exclusion has the prescription of centuries in its favour, and because the principle of the Holy See is to preserve the concordats which unite the Church and the Roman Catholic Powers of Europe. We observe, however, that only recently, since Lucius Lector expressed that opinion, the Pope has declared that the veto of the sovereigns must be abolished. It is stated that he has made

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special arrangements that the Cardinals shall not accept their veto. The changes which have taken place are considered to justify the abolition of this traditional privilege. The chief reason is that the conditions of the Papacy and the Roman Church require that the Pontifical Election shall remain outside the political questions which are agitating the world. We shall see if the Governments interested will acquiesce in this decision.

We must now return to the imprisoned Conclave. It comprises a large population, locked up in close attendance on the Cardinals. Papal rescripts give a list of the functionaries, from the principal physician down to the barbers and carpenters and sweepers. The really important persons within these walls, next to the Cardinals, are their Conclavists, or Secretaries. Every Cardinal may have two of them, who must not be engaged in trade, nor act as stewards of princes, nor be related to their patrons as brothers or nephews. The nomination of them always rests with the general congregation of the Cardinals, excepting in the case of the Conclavists who are private secretaries to the Cardinals.

The Conclavists still constitute a corporation possessed of privileges which have been fully recognized. They have a code of regulations in regard to perquisites to which every Conclavist is bound to adhere. The sacking of the cell of the newly-made Pope was originally one of

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their privileges. Each man carried off the booty which he was so fortunate as to secure. An arrangement was afterwards made that the articles in the Pope's cell should be the perquisite of his Conclavist if he paid to the latter 1500 ducats of gold. The Conclavists, however, continued their extortionate proceedings in future Conclaves. Down to the time of Alexander VII. (1655), the Conclavists seem to have been allowed to sack the cell of the newly-made Pope. They have, however, been deprived of this perquisite, but they are in possession of other perquisites which are an ample compensation for the loss. Fifteen thousand scudi, about £3000, are allotted to them as a fee after election. They have besides the privilege of becoming full citizens in any town of the Pope's former dominions. If they are members of a religious Order, they are empowered to bequeath away from their brotherhood. We can easily understand that Conclavists of this kind, possessed with the spirit of intrigue, and conversant with the minds of their patrons, have often decided Papal elections. We shall go more fully into this subject hereafter, when we consider the general results of the system of Papal elections. We only observe here that the most intelligent among them render great service to their masters by informing them of the divisions which prevail among the electors, the views of certain groups of Cardinals, the preference which is shown for any one of them, the

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candidatures which are in progress of preparation, and the sudden change of front which is often exhibited.

Another office exists in connection with the Conclave which had its origin in a remote antiquity. A member of the Savelli family kept careful watch over the Cardinals imprisoned at Viterbo in 1271. Gregory X. rewarded him for his services by creating in his favour the office of Marshal of the Conclave, which he intended to make hereditary in his family. At Avignon, Innocent VI. in 1352 confirmed this privilege to the Savelli family, in which it remained till the house became extinct in 1712. The office was then conferred by Clement XI. on Augustin Chigi, from whom it has descended to the present head of the family.

The Marshal was originally a kind of chief of the military house of the Pope, charged especially with the superintendence of the police of the palace. In grand religious ceremonies he carried the tiara of the Pope, and as great master of the palace he represented the Pope with foreign princes and distinguished guests. He was formerly sometimes sent on confidential missions which the Pope was unwilling to entrust to the ordinary diplomatic agents.

The Marshal originally possessed jurisdiction over all the lay members of the Pontifical Court, who were tried before his tribunal. This privilege

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came to an end under Innocent X., in whose edict of suspension the great abuses prevalent in the Court, and the disgraceful state of the prisons, are described as rendering reform indispensable. In spite of this curtailment of his privileges, he retains the outward display of high rank, and figures during the Conclave as second in rank only to the Camerlengo. A guard of honour was formerly placed at the gate of the palace of the Marshal immediately after the death of the Pope. He visits the Cardinals in their cells, and while the Camerlengo carefully examines the locks of the doors inside, he sees that the locks on the doors outside are in a proper condition. He always carries with him the keys in a purse of crimson velvet.

When a Cardinal who has arrived late demands admission to the Conclave, the Marshal opens to him, at an hour arranged with the Camerlengo, the grand, mysterious gate. He receives the ambassadors who desire to hold conference with the Conclave. His duty is to see that no one holds secret conference with the imprisoned Cardinals. He also has charge of the "turning openings," at which indispensable articles are admitted; he opens them every morning and closes them every evening. The Marshal receives from the Apostolic Chamber for the discharge of these duties a thousand Roman crowns a month. In old days, when Rome was under the govern-

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ment of the Pope, he used to go in great state to some Church, accompanied by the Swiss Guard. Still, when it is certain that the Pope has been elected, the Marshal opens the great gate of the prison-house, and is the second to kiss the hand of the new Pontiff and to receive his blessing.

We have passed in review the arrangements connected with the admission of the Cardinals to the Conclave. We must now direct our attention to a subject which demands very careful consideration—the exact nature of the office of a Cardinal, and the persons who are eligible for the high dignity of Pope.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CARDINALS AND THOSE WHOM THEY MAY ELECT

Observations on the original establishment of the Conclave —Description of the qualifications for the office of Cardinals—They may resign their rank and marry with the consent of the Pope—Observations on the dispensing power of the Popes—Lay Cardinals and their power to vote—Indelible right of guilty Cardinals to vote in Conclaves—Secret nomination of Cardinals—Great powers of the Popes in regard to a seat in the Conclaves—No limitations as to age in former days—Many instances given of youthful Cardinals appointed without reference to their qualifications—The Conclave system in those days thus shown to deserve strong condemnation—Those eligible for the Papal dignity.

WE have seen the circumstances which compelled Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., to place the appointment to the Papacy in the hands of a clerical oligarchy. It seems at first sight an arrangement which cannot be justified, that a small number of Roman priests should have been allowed to usurp the right of nominating one who had

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asserted a claim to the spiritual allegiance of Christendom. The selection of the members of the Sacred College from a much larger field, while the Pope still adheres to the ancient practice by the titles assumed by the Cardinals, served to lessen the objection to which reference has just been made. I think, however, that none of those at the Council at Rome at which the Conclave system was established, excepting perhaps Hildebrand, who had the design of making the Pope supreme in the temporal as well as spiritual department, had any idea of the power which they were thus conferring on the Conclave. We must admit, indeed, that from the standpoint of the eleventh century it is difficult to see that any other arrangement could have been made which would have answered the desired end of securing a proper appointment to the Papacy. But still there are difficulties and dangers connected with it. The causes of the partial success which it has achieved form one of the most interesting problems which history offers to the consideration of the statesman and philosopher. We think, however, that it will be like the canker at the root of the widely-branching tree, which will ultimately be the cause that it no longer puts forth its branches like the glory of Lebanon, seen far and wide on the summit of the mountain, and that it becomes a lifeless trunk, which the genial influence of the spring shall revisit no more.

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Our wonder at the success which this institution has attained will be increased when we consider the constitution of the body which now claims our attention. It has been stated that seventy is the number fixed by Sixtus V. Of these six are Cardinal Bishops, fifty are Cardinal Priests, and fourteen are Cardinal Deacons. As the Cardinal is a high personage in the Court which is ecclesiastical, it is very important that he should appear to be invested with an ecclesiastical character. It must, however, be understood that the title of Cardinal is a dignity, and that it is not a grade in the Church. Pope Eugenius IV., writing in 1431, says that they were called Cardinals because they are the "cardo" or hinge on which the government of the Church rests. The order of the diaconate is not absolutely required for the assumption of the dignity of Cardinal Deacon. We find indeed that there is a rule that he shall receive deacon's orders in the course of the year. But he can easily obtain a dispensation from this requirement. It would seem that celibacy is the only qualification which is indispensable. A lay Cardinal must have the consent of the Pope for the return to secular life, and the resignation of the ensigns of his dignity. Cæsar Borgia gave up the hat which his father had given to him only five years previously, and became Duke of Urbino. He subsequently married Jeanne d'Albret. Ferdinand de' Medici, called to the throne of Tuscany

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in 1587, gave up the purple robe which he had worn for twenty years, and married Catherine of Lorraine. In 1509, Francis, the last of the Medici, resigned his dignity, which he had held for twenty-three years. Ferdinand of Gonzaga in 1615, and his brother Vincent in 1626, laid aside the insignia of their ecclesiastical rank, that they might become Dukes of Mantua; and Camille Pamfili in 1647, on his marriage with Olimpia Aldobrandini, Princess of Rossano. On the death of King Ladislas of Poland, his brother Casimir, a Jesuit, who had been named Cardinal in 1646, was allowed not only to resign the purple, but to marry the king's widow, his sister-in-law, Mary Gonzaga. Paul V., in order to prevent the extinction of the family, allowed Cardinal Ferdinand Gonzaga to resign his dignity. He afterwards married a woman of inferior rank; but having become tired of his wife, he divorced her with the consent of the Pope and espoused Catherine Medici, the daughter of Duke Cosmo II. A second Cardinal Gonzaga, Vincenzo, the brother of Ferdinand, also succeeded in obtaining permission to give up his rank as Cardinal for the sake of indulging his passion for a kinswoman, Isabella Gonzaga.

All these dispensations constitute an instructive but little known chapter in the history of the Roman organization. They bear witness to the wonderful elasticity of the arrangements of the Church. In the case of dispensations for marriage,

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political influences appear to have been the reasons for granting this permission. These, however, are merely isolated cases, serving to explain and illustrate the power which the Popes arrogate to themselves of dispensing with ecclesiastical rules. A large proportion wish to remain Cardinals without the diaconate to the end of their days. By the Bull of Pius IV., however, it is distinctly ruled that a Cardinal who has not received the diaconate may enter the Conclave, but cannot vote in the election of a Pope. This direction was subsequently modified in the elaborate Bull of Gregory XV. in 1621, which is the ruling statute in Papal elections. It is distinctly laid down that this exclusion is only against those lay Cardinals who are not furnished with a specific Papal dispensation. Cardinals without orders may have the privilege of voting in Conclave if they can produce a document showing that it has been granted to them as a personal favour by the late Pope; or they can obtain ordination in the Conclave from the Cardinal Vicar, who alone has jurisdiction in matters of this description. This matter was distinctly settled in the case of the Cardinal Simoni, who became a deacon in the Conclave of 1829, when the Pope's death gave him the opportunity of giving a vote. We can discover in the history of Conclaves only one instance of the admission of a lay Cardinal to the privilege of voting in Conclave, when Sixtus V. was

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elected. The Cardinal Archduke Albert, who is distinctly stated not to have taken orders, arrived in great haste from Innspruck, and was allowed to take part with his fellow-cardinals in giving a new head to Roman Catholic Christendom.

A Cardinal's right to give his vote at Papal elections is regarded as absolutely sacred. No censure nor suspension, not even excommunication, can deprive him of this privilege of his Order. This is the most startling provision in the whole Roman organization. Like all organic laws, this law had its origin in a want which seemed to render it absolutely necessary. A Pope with strong partizan views might excommunicate a Cardinal holding views different from his own and prevent him from having any part in the choice of his successor. Boniface VIII. was blinded with furious passion against the house of Colonna. The Cardinals of that house and the members of the family of Orsini had consented to leave the nomination of the Papacy to him, thinking that he would nominate one of them to the dignity. The result, however, was that he appointed himself. He was afraid that they would revenge themselves upon him. He availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the plunder of a caravan on one of their numerous marauding expeditions, in the Roman territory, to issue a Bull denouncing the whole family as disturbers of the public peace, and deposing James and Peter

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Colonna from the office of Cardinal. After a proclamation, in reply to which they denied his right to be Pope, he issued his sentence against them, excommunicating them, and confiscating their property. The Orsini and others became the executioners of his vengeance. The result was that their strongholds had been destroyed, and that the whole family had become exiles in foreign lands.

The consequence was a very angry feeling, rendered formidable by the great power of the Colonna family, and accompanied by a strong protest against the assumption of a right, without any justifying cause or pretext, to deprive dignitaries of the Church of their inherent privileges. A strong desire was awakened to prevent the recurrence of these acts. Accordingly we find that Clement V. issued a Bull in 1310, in which we read the following remarkable clause—"In order that dissensions and schisms may be avoided, we decree that no Cardinal may be expelled from the said elections on the ground of any excommunication, suspension, or interdict whatsoever." This provision has been confirmed in a very full manner by Pius IV. and Gregory XV. The guilty Cardinals are during election time released from the disabilities incurred by the sentence pronounced upon them. Their colleagues also are released from the obligation to hold no intercourse with the excommunicated and censured individuals.

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Cardinals since these enactments have been severely punished for crimes and misdemeanours, and have even undergone decapitation, the extreme penalty of the law. We cannot, however, discover a loss of the indelible right of voting in Conclave. Cardinal Soderini, in the time of Adrian VI., was convicted of conspiracy and was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo. He was, however, on the last day of the Pope's obsequies, released by the Sacred College, and gave his vote for Clement VII., by whom he was restored to all the honours of his rank.

The ruling case in this matter is that of the celebrated Cardinal Coscia. He was an object of detestation on account of his corrupt proceedings during the pontificate of Benedict XIII. The new Pope was unable to withstand the clamour raised against this member of the Sacred College. He was brought to trial for fraud and embezzlement, and was sentenced to ten years' close confinement in the Castle of St. Angelo, the loss of his See of Benevento, and degradation from the privileges of the Cardinalate. The Pope Clement XIII. pronounced that every election in which he took part should be void, and that he should not be allowed to give his vote under the constitutions of Pius IV. and Gregory XV. Subsequent reflection, however, induced the Pope to see that he had no right to impugn the validity of a future election in which Coscia took part. He, therefore, abrogated

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the sentence marking such an election with invalidity, but he added the proviso that the election must not gain its majority of two-thirds by his individual vote; that during his ten years of confinement his electoral privileges should be restricted to voting; and that he should not be allowed to obtain the suffrages of the Sacred College, because it would not be seemly to consider a Cardinal eligible for the Papacy who was released from prison only while the Conclave lasted. The precedent furnished by this case has never been reversed. Pius VI., in 1786, deprived Cardinal Rohan of active and passive voice in Papal elections because he had acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris, a lay tribunal, and he pronounced a condemnation against Cardinal de Brienne because he swore to the civil constitution of the clergy voted in France. But both these Cardinals died before there was an opportunity of testing the power of the Pope to pass a sentence depriving them at election time of their indelible rights. We conclude, therefore, that a Cardinal may have been guilty of conduct which brings him within the grasp of the law, but that still he may take part in an election which has for its object the appointment of one who claims the spiritual allegiance of Christendom.

Various causes occasionally arose to lead a Pontiff to deem it undesirable to name openly the person whom he wished to create a Cardinal. Sometimes

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the opposition of one of the sovereigns of Europe, sometimes the jealousies of the members of the Sacred College, sometimes also the consideration that the individual to be promoted might be more useful to the Papacy in the less exalted dignity from which he was to be elevated, induced the Pontiff to keep his nomination secret. Martin V. was the first who created three Cardinals without publishing them to the world. This usage must be carefully distinguished from the practice of creating *in petto*, for which it prepared the way. Pope Martin created fourteen Cardinals, naming only ten, and confiding in Secret Consistory to the members of the Sacred College the names of the other four who had been named but not published. The Pope further took the precaution of enjoining the Cardinals to publish the creation of the Cardinals in question, and to consider them as Cardinals in case he should die without the publication of them. He also made them swear that they would publish them. The case to which Martin looked forward occurred. Martin died without the publication of the names of the Cardinals whom he had thus secretly created. But the Cardinals broke their promise, and would not recognize these Cardinals nor allow them to take any part in the election of the Pope. In some cases the Pope created the Cardinal from respect to his memory. In more cases, those who remained unpublished never obtained the purple. The

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Cardinals were, as a general rule, strongly opposed to these nominations.

In the course of time, as the absolutism of the Popes increased, the Cardinals found a great difficulty in opposing these secret nominations. Paul III., who died in 1549, was able to make some progress with this practice of secret nomination. The Popes had previously declared the names of the Cardinals whom they were anxious to promote in Secret Consistory, taking the Sacred College into their confidence. Paul simply declared that besides those named as Cardinals there were others whose names he kept in his own breast (*in petto*), to be named at the right time. It now became the practice that the Cardinals thus created should take precedence according to the date of their secret nomination, whereas formerly they had taken rank according to the publication of their dignity.

The following is the form at present used in the practice of this secret nomination. The Pope in Consistory, after naming those whom he publicly creates, adds, "Alios in pectore reservamus arbitrio nostro, quandocunque reservandos." The Popes have, however, never succeeded in obtaining with any degree of certainty the recognition of the Cardinals thus made, if they should be surprised by death before the publication of them. Sometimes they have been allowed to take their place in the Sacred College. Sometimes their title to take it has been rejected. Very often the next Pope has

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admitted them to the Sacred College on his own nomination. It is now, however, an established practice that no Pope on succeeding to the Papal See is bound to recognize any nominations left by his predecessor in this incomplete condition, even if he should discover the document in which his predecessor had registered his list, or if he should in any other manner obtain a knowledge of this secret creation.

We have seen enough to show us that the Pope has great power in connection with a seat and vote in the Conclave. He can, as we have seen, give permission to a Cardinal to resign his dignity, or to vote in Conclave, even if he has never taken orders, thus depriving the Conclave of its ecclesiastical character. He does not indeed assert a power to prevent a Cardinal from giving his vote in Conclave, even if he has been guilty of crimes which ought to disqualify him; but, if we may judge from other high-handed interferences with Conclaves, he might easily issue a Bull, disallowing that vote. The power of giving this vote will perhaps some day be tested, and will thus remove a disgraceful stigma from the Conclave system, which, when it is known, ought to make it very unpopular with all who are anxious for the improvement of the Roman Catholic system of election.

We shall see hereafter that the electors disregard the oath which they take to observe the direction of Gregory X., that they shall enter the

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Conclave without any engagement to use their influence in behalf of a particular candidate, and to attend to the requirements of other Popes designed to promote the purity of Papal elections. We must here observe that, in their appointments to the dignity of Cardinals, we have another proof of the uselessness of endeavouring by any rules to limit the power of one who, especially since he claimed infallibility, arrogates to himself the power of dispensing with them. We cannot wonder that the Conclaves in former days should have been the scene of contention and discord, that the members should have acted in the spirit of boys, and should have been guilty of disorderly proceedings, such as we should expect to discover among those of that age when we find that many of them were young, and that there was no rule as to the age and qualifications of those who were appointed Cardinals.

The general understanding was that thirty years of age should be required for the dignity of Cardinal. But Sixtus V., in the Bull which professed to regulate the requirements as to eligibility for the dignity, decrees that no Cardinal shall be created under twenty years of age. He also declares that, if one so created should not be in deacon's orders, he must receive them in the year, or have no voice in the College.

In this matter of age at which a Cardinal could be created, as in so many other matters, it has

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been found impossible to bind one infallible Vicar of Christ by the decree of another. Notwithstanding all precedents to the contrary, every Pope created such persons Cardinals as it was convenient to him to create. Giocinto Orsini was created Cardinal at twenty-two, by Honorius II., in 1126, and became Pope as Celestine III. sixty years afterwards. Clement VI., in 1348, created his nephew, Peter Roger, Cardinal at seventeen; this young Cardinal became Pope in 1376, under the name of Gregory XI. Sixtus IV., in 1447, created John of Arragon, the son of Ferdinand, King of Naples, Cardinal at the age of fourteen, and gave him the hat four years afterwards.

Innocent VIII., who died in 1492, created Giovanni Medicis, who afterwards became Leo X., Cardinal at the age of fourteen, adding that he was not to wear the purple for the next three years; Alexander VI. created Ippolito d'Este a Cardinal at seventeen, and Cassimir Jagellon, the son of the King of Poland, when he was nineteen, and had already for some time been Bishop of Cracow.

Leo X., who died in 1521, did not show gratitude to the Pope who had made him a Cardinal when he was fourteen, for he compelled Innocenzo Cibo, the nephew of his old patron, to wait till he was twenty-one years of age for the purple. But he created William de Croy a Cardinal at nineteen, and Alfred of Portugal, the son of the King, at seven years of age, on condition that he should

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not assume the outward marks of the dignity till he should have reached the age of fourteen. Hercules Gonzago, who had been made Bishop of Mantua at fifteen by Leo X., was made Cardinal by Clement VIII. at twenty-two. Clement made his own cousin Ippolito Cardinal when he was eighteen, and Odet de Coligny, at the request of the King of France, when he was in his twelfth year.

Paul III., Farnese, who died in 1549, made his nephew Alexander Farnese a Cardinal at fourteen; his grandson Guido Sforza at sixteen; his cousin Nicolo Gaetani at twelve; and a second grandson, Ranucio Farnese, at fifteen. He had only in the previous year given to him the archbishopric of Naples. He also created Charles of Lorraine, son of the Duke of Guise, and brother of Mary, Queen of Scots, Cardinal at twenty-two, and his relative Giulio della Rovere, brother of the Duke of Urbino, a Cardinal at eleven.

Julius III. created Innocenzo del Monte Cardinal at seventeen; his nephew, Roberto dei Nobili, at fourteen; and Girolamo Simoncelli at twenty-one. Pius IV., who died in 1565, not only made several Cardinals from twenty to twenty-three, but also Ferdinand de' Medici a Cardinal at fourteen. Gregory XIII., who died in 1585, made Andrew of Austria a Cardinal at eighteen, and Albert of Austria, son of Maximilian II., at the same age. He also created Charles of Lorraine at sixteen, and

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Francesco Sforza at twenty. Clement VIII., who died in 1605, made his relation Gio Battista Deti Cardinal at seventeen ; his nephew, Silvestro Aldobrandini, at sixteen ; and his brother, Pietro Aldobrandini, at twenty-two, notwithstanding the decree of the Sacred College forbidding two brothers to belong to the Sacred College at the same time. Paul V. created Maurice of Savoy Cardinal at fourteen ; Carlo de' Medici at nineteen ; and Ferdinand of Austria, son of Philip III. of Spain, at ten. Innocent XI., who died in 1655, made the nephew of his sister-in-law Cardinal at seventeen. Clement IX. made Sigismund Chigi, the nephew of Alexander VII., a Cardinal at nineteen. Alexander VIII., who died in 1691, created Lorenzo Altieri, the nephew of Clement X., Cardinal at nineteen ; Clement XII. made Luigi di Borboni, son of Philip V. of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo and a Cardinal at the age of eight ; and finally Pius VII., who died in 1823, created Luigi di Borboni, the son of the Archbishop of Toledo, a Cardinal at twenty-three.

I have now said enough to fix an indelible brand on the Conclave system during the early, middle, and later ages. Of course public opinion in the present day will strongly condemn these appointments when they are brought before it. But there is nothing in the Papal system, excepting public opinion, to prevent them. We cannot, when we look back, refrain from condemning strongly the

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state of mind of those ecclesiastical writers and others who, while they record these disgraceful promotions, tell us of the saintly virtues of the Pontiffs who made them, and of the great sanctity and awful responsibilities of those who are called to assume a dress designed to be a symbol of their readiness to shed their blood in defence of the Church.

I must now endeavour to indicate the persons eligible for the high dignity of a Pope. Formerly a priest or deacon of the Roman Church was alone eligible to be Bishop of Rome. But this law gradually fell into desuetude. In the tenth century, under the influence of the Othos, even foreign bishops were created Popes. Then came the change that only Cardinals were eligible for the office of universal bishop, that they only could be the electors, and that they might elect without any form of consecration. Since that time, however, nine popes have been elected without having belonged to the Sacred College—Alexander II. in 1068; Calixtus II. in 1119; Eugenius III. in 1145; Urban IX. in 1261; Gregory X. in 1271; Celestine V. in 1294; Clement V. in 1305; Urban V. in 1362; Urban VI. in 1378. Since the time of Urban the Cardinals have always chosen from their own body. At the Conclave at which Benedict XIV. was elected in 1740, Barbarini, the former General of the Capuchins, who was not a Cardinal, received a certain number of votes. Benedict,

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however, distinctly states that, considering that there were in the Sacred College a large number of Cardinals who would be good governors of the Church, the Supreme Pontiff should be chosen from among them. A Cardinal may, as we have seen, be a layman and yet may have a share in the election of the Pope. Boys, often the slaves of every vice, can no longer elect him who, as the Roman Cardinal Bellarmine writes, "becomes by that very act the Sovereign Pontiff of the Universal Church." But still, Cardinals who have been guilty of crime may take part in that election. The most astonishing circumstance, however, is that there is nothing in the canon law to render invalid even the appointment of a layman to the Papacy. Pope John XIX. (1024), Celestine III. (1191), Adrian V. (1276), Paul II. (1464), were laymen when they were raised to this high dignity. The case of Adrian V. certainly furnishes conclusive evidence that a Pope acquires all his supreme authority by the simple act of election. Adrian died without any Orders, and yet he promulgated decrees modifying the whole system of Papal election, which, by his successors, were invested with all the sacredness of pontifical declarations. He ruled only twenty-nine days, in which interval he repealed of his own authority the electoral constitution of Gregory X., which, in fact, remained in abeyance until Celestine V., after six stormy elections, revived it in 1292. We shall afterwards describe the Coronation

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of the Pope. The highest authorities have, however, laid down that before that ceremony, and immediately after his election, he is invested with plenary powers. Clement V. excommunicated those who held the contrary opinion; and Moroni, who enters at length into the question, and must be considered the organ of the Church of Rome, distinctly declares that a Pope must be in possession of all his power from the moment of election. If then certain forms and conditions, as laid down by the present Pope, are essential to the validity of Holy Orders, it is perfectly evident that the Popes can no longer maintain their claims to the validity of Papal Supremacy, as derived from St. Peter, because even Popes who are laymen gain by the mere act of election all the power and prerogatives of the Papacy, and can become in their own view the arbiters of the spiritual and temporal destinies of Christendom.

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CHAPTER V

THE CONCLAVE AS IT IS AT PRESENT

The rules of Gregory XV.—Votes of adoration, compromise, and scrutiny—Preparations for the first scrutiny—The directions of Gregory as to voting—Description of the scrutiny, and of the papers used at it—The process of voting and of counting of the schedules—The "accessit," and the manner in which it operates—The luncheon of the Cardinals—The Sfumata, or burning of the papers—The election of the Pope, the choice of his name, the first adoration, and the proclamation of the Pope to the Roman people—The second and third adorations—Enthronement and coronation of the Pope—The directions for secret voting, often disregarded and utterly useless—Proofs of trickery and artifices in Papal elections—Condemnation of the Conclave system.

I MUST now return to the crowd assembled within the Conclave. The Cardinals are the subjects of various influences. The busy brains of all of them are at work. Some are weaving the web of political intrigue. Some are labouring for their own aggrandizement. Others are honestly endeavouring to secure a suitable spiritual father for Christendom.

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We see in the Bull of Gregory XV., which, as I have stated, is still the governing statute in regard to Papal elections, that the Pontiff may be elected by "adoration," by "compromise," or by "scrutiny." The term "inspiration" or "acclamation" has also been applied to the first mode of election. The instances of it are Gregory VII. in 1073, Celestine V. in 1294, Clement VII. in 1523, Paul III. in 1534, Julius III. in 1550, Marcellus II. in 1555, Paul IV. in 1555, Pius IV. in 1559, Pius V. in 1566, Sixtus V. in 1585, and Urban VII. in 1590. The term "adoration" is, however, preferred by the best writers to "inspiration" and "acclamation." The name "inspiration" could hardly be applied to this mode of election, because much secret plotting and public effort are required to raise the favourite candidate to the Papal throne. After these proceedings, a group of Cardinals, sure of being followed by a large majority of members of the Conclave, prostrated themselves before him whose election had been settled by the general voice of the Conclave. They were followed by the other members, and the election was made. The members on the next morning still gave their votes openly; but this voting was always considered a mere formality. Gregory XV., however, though elected in this manner, considering that this mode of election might easily lead to tumultuous proceedings, and to an improper election under the influence of strong excitement, while he retains

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the principle of this traditional mode of election, has fenced it with so many restrictions that it may almost be said to have disappeared from the legitimate modes of Papal election.

An instance of compromise is furnished by the means which were adopted to terminate the disgraceful proceedings at Viterbo, and resulted in the election of Gregory X. Another most memorable instance was when the impossibility of an agreement among the Cardinals assembled in 1304 as to the election, induced them to entrust it to a delegation of their own body, which gave to the Church Clement V., who transferred the See to Avignon. We are informed by Cardinal Borgia, in the life of his uncle, that in the Conclave at Venice, after the death of Pius VI., it was proposed to invest nine Cardinals with the duty of selecting a Pope, and that the idea was not carried out, because, at the right time, the members of the College happily agreed in electing Pius VII.

Election by ballot, with scrutiny, is the method of the present day. The voting, as I have stated, must be secret. No one may vote for himself, nor give in the scrutiny and in the vote by accession his vote to the same candidate, for this simple reason, that he would in this case have two votes while he really has only one. With the view of verifying the papers of the scrutiny and of the accession, every one of the papers must have a device and a corresponding number, as well as the signature.

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These are carefully sealed down. The seals are broken only in case of necessity. Only the name of the person for whom the vote is given appears.

The whole process may be thus described. Each Cardinal, habited in his crocia, or long mantle, walks from his place to the altar of the Chapel where the election is held, carrying the schedule prepared for giving the votes, held high between his finger and thumb. When he has arrived at the foot of the altar, he kneels and pronounces the following oath, given in a former chapter—"I call to witness the Lord Jesus Christ, who will be my Judge, that I choose him, who, before God, I think ought to be chosen, and I make the same promise as to the vote which I shall give at the 'accessit.'" On the altar is a large urn, or chalice, covered with a patina. After he has been sworn, he places his schedule in the patina, and when he has taken it into his hand, he throws his vote into the chalice.

When the votes are all given, and are marked, the numbers are declared. The Very Reverend Cardinal M.M. has twelve votes, and the Very Reverend Cardinal N.N. has eight votes. If this first scrutiny should give to one of the candidates a sufficient majority, the voting papers will be burnt in the manner to be described presently. If, however, a sufficient majority has not been obtained, the Cardinals proceed in the morning, or the afternoon, to the process technically called

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"acceding," whereby the voter, revoking his morning's ballot, transfers his vote to some other candidate, whose name had come out of the ballot-box. The meaning of the phrase is quite evident, excepting that "accedo ad" is printed in the schedule, instead of "eligo." If he remains fixed in his original intention, he writes the word "nemini" in the place of the name of one of the candidates. The numbers on the paper, the motto, and the seals must be the same as in the first voting, otherwise the vote given will be void. The vote of accession cannot be given to any candidate who has received no votes at the previous meeting. In the case of the invalids who have remained in their cells, three Cardinals, deputed to attend them, carry round, together with a box for receiving their votes, a statement of the results of the first voting. In all cases the portion containing the voter's name is to be opened by scrutators only in the event of some suspicion of fraud, or of a vote being invalid through some violation by the elector of the prescribed forms.

The mode in which the "accessit" operates, and the nature of the motives which influence the electors, are easily intelligible. If the candidate A, for whom X has voted, has received four or five votes only, while B has received twenty, and C thirty, it will become a delicate question whether X shall transfer his vote to one of these latter, and if so, to which of them. If, failing his own favourite

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candidate, who has been shown to have no chance, X is content to take C, his course is clear, X accedes to him. If he is objectionable to X, X may still prefer to accede, if his election is inevitable. If B is one with whom X would be contented, and if X thinks that he has a chance, he accedes to him. If the object of X is to prevent the election of B or C, he accedes to some other Cardinal, in the hope that the votes given to him, if not sufficient to elect him, may at least, in Conclave language, give an exclusion to B or C, or prevent either of them from having a two-thirds majority. It will be seen that the "accessit" requires, for its management, some of the most delicate or dexterous play of any portion of the Conclave operations.

The luncheon of the Cardinals comes at the end of the morning scrutiny. The meals are brought with great state to the rota, or turning opening, at which they are to be passed into the Conclave with much ceremony. To each Cardinal is attached a Dapifer, or bringer of the feast. We read in the old constitutions of the one dish to be allowed to the elector, to be diminished to bread and water if the election were not terminated in a given number of days. The object was to oblige the Cardinals, by the loss of their creature comforts, to bring the election to a speedy conclusion.

An alteration was made, as we have seen, by Clement VI. in the luxurious Court of Avignon.

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The apostolic simplicity has given way to a ceremonial which forms one of the most striking spectacles of Rome during an interregnum. The Cardinal's state carriage, with the state liveries, starts from the Cardinal's palace with much carefully prescribed ceremonial, under the command of Dapifer, who superintends the passing of the luxuries brought by him through the rota, or turning wheel, just referred to. The dishes are not, however, placed before the expectant Cardinal until they have been duly examined by the officials appointed to see that no writing or message is conveyed in or with the food.

The ballots continue until the legal majority is obtained. When the last act of the scrutiny is terminated, all the voting papers are placed in a stove in a corner of the chapel, having a tube-chimney which communicates with the open air. When no election has taken place, a small quantity of damp straw is placed in the stove, which is set on fire by a match, so that the burning occasions a dense smoke seen by the whole of Rome. Thus the Romans, who are eagerly on the watch, are informed that no election has taken place. This is the celebrated *Sfumata*, by which so many bets have been decided. If, on the contrary, the election has taken place without or with the scrutiny by access, the papers are still burnt, but without the straw. If the thin line of smoke which now rises should be seen, immediately the

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guns from the Castle of St. Angelo announce the election to the citizens. A peal too is heard from the bells of every church in Rome. At all events, the public joy will be expressed in this manner as soon as the proclamation of the election is made to the people.

When the result of the scrutiny is made known by the scrutators, the successful candidate must be asked if he will accept the dignity thus conferred upon him. This formal acceptance is essential to the validity of the election, because if the votes of the cardinals have been given to one of their body who is absent, it is necessary to send delegates to him to obtain his consent. The announcement of his acceptance is immediately followed by the lowering of all the canopies in the chapel with the single exception of the canopy over the newly-elected Pope. The powers conferred on the Cardinals during the vacancy in the Holy See, which have, however, as we have seen, been carefully circumscribed by the jealousy of various Popes, have come to an end, and the authority of the Holy See is again concentrated in the person of him whom they have raised to this high dignity.

The new Pope then declares the name by which he wishes to be designated. The first who took a different name from his own was John XII., in 956. Adrian VI. and Marcellus II. have kept the name given to them in baptism. The Popes often

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take the name of the Pope who has conferred on them the dignity of Cardinal, or of the saint for whom they have the greatest veneration, or of the place from which they made the first step in the ascent to the high dignity of Pope. Gregory XVI. had been a monk in the convent of St. Gregory, and Prefect of the Propaganda founded by Gregory XV. Leo XIII., when he was asked by what name he wished to be designated, answered at once "Leo, on account of the debt of gratitude which I owe to Leo XII. and the reverence which from my early youth I have felt for St. Leo the Great."

The Pope then receives the homage of the assembled Cardinals, which is called the first act of adoration. The Conclave is then declared to be at an end, and the masons open the walls and release the imprisoned Conclave. From the re-opened balcony window, which had been walled up, the Cardinal Dean proclaims the new Pope, whose acclamation by the Roman people is attested in a deed drawn up by the appointed notary.

This proclamation is followed by the ceremonies connected with the second and third adorations. The second is made in the Sixtine Chapel, to show that the Pope has taken possession of the Vatican. The other takes place under the cupola of St. Peter at the altar of confession, to show that he has become the guardian of the tomb of the Apostle.

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When the election took place in the Quirinal, these two ceremonies usually followed in the morning of the next day. The Pope, quitting the palace of Paul V., passed through the city preceded by a long train of Cardinals in their splendid robes. Having entered the Sixtine Chapel, he made a short prayer, and, seated on the altar, received the second obedience of the cardinals, who came in succession to kiss his foot and his hand. This ceremony is immediately followed by a procession to the Basilica for the third obedience. Preceded by the Papal cross, the Pope, carried on the *sedes gestatoria*, was received at the great door of St. Peter's by the Chapter. He entered the sacred building amid joyous music, and, having taken his place on a cushion on the high altar, he has his hand and his foot kissed in succession by every Cardinal, whom in return he embraces on both cheeks, the Cardinal Dean opening the ceremony and chanting the *Te Deum* while his colleagues are performing their parts. He then bestows his benediction on the assembled multitude, and returns to his dwelling invested, as we have seen when speaking of those eligible for the Papacy, even without consecration if he should be a layman, with the power and dignity of the successor of the chief of the Apostles.

At an early day after his election, the Pope is enthroned in St. Peter's, and is crowned with the celebrated triple-crown—the tiara. The adoption

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of the double crown, soon after the time when Leo placed on the brow of Charlemagne the diadem of the Holy Roman Empire, may be considered as the expression of the determination of the Popes to reign supreme in the temporal and spiritual department. The third crown was added by Boniface VIII., when inflated with arrogance he appeared seated on the throne of Constantine with the additional crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, shouting—"I am Cæsar, I am Emperor."

In the Atrium of St. Peter, opposite the walled-up gate called La Porta Santa, which is opened only in the years of the Jubilee, the Pope, sitting on his throne, surrounded by his Cardinals, receives the homage of the archpriest and of the clergy of the Basilica. He is then carried in procession to the chapel of St. Gregory, where they put on their sacred robes. On issuing from it the master of the ceremonies, suddenly stepping forward, on bent knee arrests the Pope, and holding up before him a silver rod tipped with a bundle of tow, which a clerk sets on fire from a taper in his hand, sings in a low and plaintive tone—"Holy Father, thus passes away the glory of the world." A curious and little-known form was observed on that day until recent times. When the Pope rose in the morning, a brown cock was carried before him in procession, to remind him in that solemn moment of the frailty of St. Peter, and of the importance

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of remembering to guard against the danger to which his elevation exposed him.

At the high altar the Pope is clothed with the *pallium* by a Cardinal Deacon. The important ceremony for which preparation was thus made, must, however, be witnessed in a public place by a large assemblage. In the Loggia or balcony, extending like an immense gallery above the portico of the Basilica, must be completed the coronation of the Pope. After the mass, the custom has been that the Pope should proceed to the balcony. The Cardinal Dean, the Bishop of Ostia, then, in the presence of the assembled people, offers prayer, in which he asks the Giver of grace and sovereignty to give to the new Pontiff the power to govern the Church well, to be the Father of kings, and the guide of the faithful. The second Cardinal Deacon then removes the mitre, and the first places on his head the renowned triple crown, adorned with gems, using the following words—"Receive the tiara, with three crowns, and be sure that you are the Father of princes and kings; the Ruler of the world; the Vicar of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever." Thus ends the coronation, after the giving of the benediction, which has always hitherto followed every appearance of the Pope in public. When Rome was subject to the government of the Pope, this benediction was given under circumstances of impressive solemnity. As

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the Pope, from the top of the balcony, raised his arms to heaven and made the sign of the cross for the city and the world, the crowd assembled in the large space, bent the knee before him ; the bells of all the churches in Rome were rung, and the cannon thundered from the Castle of St. Angelo. But the coronation of Leo XIII. took place in the inside of the Vatican. We find the same words used, and the same benediction given ; but they were addressed only to those who assisted him in the ceremony. The people were conspicuous by their absence. The Pope would not bless them, since under the influence of the Italian press they opposed the continuance of the temporal power, because it was associated in their minds with tyranny, corruption, misgovernment, and the cry of agony often heard from the lips of those who were unjustly accused and were cast into the dungeons of Rome, where they were subjected to excruciating torture.

The tedious operations which have come before us are now at an end. The greatest apparent care has been taken that there shall be no communication between the Conclave and the outer world. The reason assigned is that the Governments of Europe may not interfere with the choice of the Pope. The Cardinals are walled in, and are apparently shut out from all intercourse with the world. The prelates who preside at the rota are directed to examine all letters passing in and out,

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to seal and pass them if there should be nothing relating to the election in them, and to refuse to allow them to pass if the contrary should be the case. Conversations at the rota, to which any Cardinal may be called by those who wish to confer with him, may not be carried on in a low voice, but must be perfectly audible to the by-standers. These regulations, however, in spite of the severe anathemas directed against those who disregard them, were, even in the days when it was hoped that they would answer the end designed by them, utterly useless for the purpose of preventing communication with the world during an election. Father Theiner, in his history of Clement XIV. (1769—1775), quotes the correspondence which was carried on between the imprisoned Cardinals and their confederates outside. This book furnishes us with full information on the process of the Conclave proceedings. The author recognizes that the Cardinals have been forbidden to confer with any one as to the choice of the Pope, or to write to those outside on the business of the election. But he does not hesitate to say that, on account of the weakness of human nature, it was impossible to observe these directions. He admits that, in their correspondence, the Cardinals had violated these obligations. "How, it will be asked," he writes, "could some Cardinals venture on such open violation of the constitution, as to communi-

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cate to their Court all which passes in the Conclave, as was the case with the French Cardinals and Orsini?" He tries in vain to answer this question satisfactorily. He can only answer that the guilty Cardinals stood in official relations with their Courts.

Lucius Lector states that the members of the Conclave have been allowed by his Church to hold intercourse with their friends, and with the world, in matters not relating to the business of the Conclave. Journals and reviews may also circulate among them. They need not remain in ignorance of public events. He has, however, furnished us with evidence against his Church, inasmuch as he has shown that the members have violated their solemn engagements, and have held converse with the world on matters connected with the work of the Conclave. He tells us, for instance, that in the Conclave at which Gregory XVI. was elected, a letter from Cardinal Albani was intercepted, in which he asked the Austrian ambassador to endeavour to ascertain from the French ambassador whether the Government of Louis Philippe would withdraw its objection to a particular candidate. He shows us that, though strict directions are given to the keeper of the rota to examine with the utmost care every particle of food which passes through his hands, yet it is by this means that information is conveyed to friends relating to the proceedings of the Conclave. Letters have

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been rolled up in pies or cakes, or in preserved meats. They have often been placed in the double bottoms of vessels of silver. Sometimes sympathetic ink is used for the purpose of giving information. A quotation has been made the means of conveying it. Thus a Conclavist at the rota, addressing a confederate outside, used the classical quotation, "Hannibal is before the gates," to make him understand that the election of Annibale della Genga was imminent. A Conclavist who, like his master, was bound to secrecy, revealed the secret to his confederate. The Conclave was informed that, at the window of the cell of Cardinal Albani, a person, probably directed by his Eminence to stand in it, was seen, who, by his signs and gestures gave information on what was passing within the Conclave to a confederate outside the building. Thus the system fails in answering the end which it was designed to serve. Lucius Lector gives positive proof that the atmosphere of these Conclaves is impregnated with stratagem and intrigue. The Conclavists especially are busy in the service of their spiritual lords. "Worthy servant of his master," we read in a manuscript of the Conclave at which Gregory XVI. was elected, "the cunning secretary of Cardinal Albani endeavours to draw from the other Conclavists the secrets of their masters." The Conclavists of Albani, to whom he gave the name of Brigantini, were engaged in watching during the night the corridors and stair-

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cases, in order to draw from the movements and visits of their masters their conjectures as to the election. "Be on your guard," said an old Cardinal to his Conclavist; "trust no one; we are surrounded by spies." Often the skilful Conclavists put in circulation reports in order to lull to sleep the vigilance of their opponents, or to put them on a false track. On one occasion the secretary of a Spanish Cardinal told every one of the thirty-three Cardinals present at the Conclave, that he would be only too happy if a single paper bore his name. Seventeen papers bearing his name were dropped into the ballot-box when the trick was discovered. The Venetian Cardinal Albani had recourse to the same stratagem on behalf of his uncle, the Cardinal Dean. An indiscretion at the last moment caused the miscarriage of the plot. In the Conclave of 1829, Cardinal Castiglione came out of the ballot with thirty-four votes against twenty for Cardinal Gregorio, and twelve for Capellari, afterwards Gregory XVI. On examining the papers, the scrutators, however, found two votes dropped into the afternoon ballot with mottoes which did not tally with any amongst the morning's votes. Two Cardinals were named as suspected of having committed this act, probably with the vain hope of defeating Castiglione's election. The only effect produced was to vitiate the ballot of the day, and on the following day Castiglione became Pius VIII. by an increased majority. The election of Urban

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VIII. was postponed for a day by a still more unworthy trick. When the papers were examined, one was found wanting. Although the canonical majority had been secured, the election was declared to be void, as every Cardinal in the Conclave must give his vote. Suspicion fell on one of the scrutators, who is believed to have abstracted the paper from the chalice, and dropped it into his sleeve, solely to prevent the inevitable result from being obtained on that morning. A very common trick was the naming of sham candidates by the rival sections. The device is so common as to be an established feature at Papal elections. If it be intended to carry the election of a Cardinal known to be obnoxious to one of the three sovereigns who have the veto, another Cardinal also known to be disliked by him, is started and pushed to the very verge of the required majority, in order to cause the veto to be pronounced, when no obstacle from that quarter can any longer prevent the election of the concealed candidate, who had all along been the object of choice.

We have thus obtained from Papal archives, and from other sources, an abundance of information as to the nature and results of the system of Papal elections. If the new documents are carefully examined, they create a conviction that the dissensions, the trickery, and the artifices observable in Papal elections are a very strong argument against the way in which they are conducted. The

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history of these Conclaves is, in fact, an impressive commentary on the uselessness of attempting to bind by law men who are determined for the time to acknowledge no earthly superior. Prescription has indeed a certain amount of power, which is greatly increased when it is applied to a corporate body; but it breaks down under the strain of the temptations to which those are exposed to whom so great a business as the election of a Pope is entrusted. The Church of Rome has constantly endeavoured, as we have seen, to improve her system of election. She is, however, aiming at an impossibility. Her efforts to secure her object have issued in mental reservation, as when her Cardinals with subtle casuistry invent excuses for disregarding their oath to elect him who, they believe, ought to be elected; in hypocrisy, trickery, and substitution of pompous appearance for reality; in the electoral manœuvres practised by plotting Cardinals, which have obtained for many of these Conclaves an unenviable place in the annals of the world.

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CHAPTER VI

THE LATEST CHANGES IN THE CONCLAVE

Power of the Pope to alter the forms of election—Alterations made by Pius VI. in consequence of the French Revolution—Bull issued by him which was subsequently recalled—Important Bull by him which marks an epoch in Papal legislation—Election of Pius VII. in consequence of the facilities afforded by the Bull—Bull afterwards issued by Gregory XVI.—The Bulls regulating future elections issued by Pius IX. before his death—Final development of the Conclave system and observations upon it—Probable course of events in connection with the Papacy.

WE have passed in review the traditional legislation of the Conclave to the time of Clement XII. (1730—1740). We have seen that it is very complicated. Though adapted to quiet times, it was not, in the opinion of the Roman Catholic authorities, suitable to the revolutionary period which began at the end of the eighteenth century. We shall accordingly find that instruments were prepared absolving the Cardinals from the compulsory observance of the prescribed forms of election. An examination of the history will

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serve to show us that there can be no question as to the Pope's perfect competence to authorize this grave departure from the custom of ages, even without the consent of the Cardinals. On this point, Lucius Lector and Mr. Cartwright, a learned, just, and occasionally a severe critic of the Conclave system, are in perfect agreement. Adrian V. (1276), who reigned only two days less than a month, actually annulled the great Bull of his predecessor, Gregory X., because it was obnoxious to the Cardinals on account of its severity. The scandalous consequences of the abrogation at length obliged the hermit Pope, Celestine V., to revive it in the year 1294. The course taken by Gregory XI. in 1370 serves to show still more plainly the competence of the Popes to make this alteration. They had been for three-quarters of a century in voluntary exile at Avignon. The Pope was convinced that the outraged conscience of Christendom demanded an immediate return to Rome. He feared too that Rome would no longer endure the loss of the wealth which flowed into her in a golden tide from foreign countries, and would cast off her allegiance to him. He felt, however, that he might go to Rome, but that, after his death, the Cardinals, who were the creatures of the French King, would decree a return to Avignon. Gregory, therefore, determined to make a radical alteration in the machinery of Papal elections. By a Bull dated March 19, 1378, he suspended all the

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regulations on the subject of Papal elections, and empowered the Cardinals not only to meet for election on his decease, but to nominate by a simple majority. The Pope thus, by his authority, dealt, like the Council of Constance, with a special emergency, with the full approval of Christendom.

Pius VI. (1775—1800) was justified by these precedents in dealing in a similar manner with the difficulties which he was called on to encounter. A man of dignified manners and of a noble presence, remarkable for his courtesy and affability, fond of pomp, eloquent, and very handsome, not indisposed to effect those reforms in the Papacy which would have brought it into harmony with the spirit of the age, he would in quiet times have invested it with a charm in the eyes of his contemporaries. In his time, however, the great French Revolution laid low the monarchy of France, disorganized its Government, and shattered the altars of Christianity. Pius VI. was little fitted to contend with his powerful adversaries. He would have been fortunate if France only had ceased to be subject to his dominion. But he was doomed to encounter a heavier calamity than the loss of the spiritual and temporal allegiance of its inhabitants. That general war broke out which uprooted dynasties and changed the face of Europe. Revolutionary France poured her legions over her confines, and conquered Belgium, Holland, and the Rhenish provinces. Onward the fiery deluge

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rolled till it overspread the patrimony of St. Peter. By the Treaty of Tolentino, concluded with Napoleon in February 1793, the Pope was compelled to cede the French provinces subject to his See, to pay down an enormous sum of money, and to surrender his military stores and the choicest pictures at the Vatican. The Republic also virtually obtained possession of the rest of the territory.

The history of Papal measures adopted to meet that serious crisis, which few know, is full of instruction and interest. When the French armies were pressing forward, and no one could say where their progress would be arrested, Pius VI., by a Brief dated February 11, 1797, released the Cardinals, for the next election only, from the obligation to wait nine days before they entered the Conclave. They were at once to proceed to an election, and not wait for the arrival of their colleagues.

This Bull was never published, because the peace of Tolentino had removed the fear of a French occupation of Rome. The hope of Pius that he had purchased peace by his great sacrifices was not fulfilled. On December 28, 1797, a tumult occurred in the streets of Rome in which the French General Duphot was killed. It was at once evident that the French Government intended to make the most of this insurrection, and to proceed to extremities against the Pope. Accordingly

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we find that two days afterwards, Pius VI. issued a Bull, the preamble to which declares that novel circumstances require new provisions, and that an unchangeable law cannot meet the requirements of the times. The Cardinals on the spot are therefore authorized by a mere majority to postpone the election to any time which they deem most suitable, and to hold the Conclave in any place where they would be less exposed to danger than they might be if they were summoned to the Vatican. They might, however, if they chose, proceed to an immediate election without waiting for the arrival of the tenth day.

This deviation from the ancient custom of the Church is expressly limited to a time of great danger. Between this Bull and the draft of the Brief just described, there is one important difference. The former is expressly limited to "this time," whereas the provisions in the Bull were an organic law, promulgated with the full consent of the Cardinals, which were always to hold good when public dangers threatened their free deliberations. In tranquil times the old law was to be observed.

The Holy See was very soon exposed to great danger. On February 13, 1798, the Pope was sitting on his throne in a chapel of the Vatican, surrounded by his Cardinals. On a sudden, the shouts of an angry multitude penetrated to the Conclave, intermingled with the strokes of axes

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and hammers on the doors. Very soon a band of soldiers burst into the hall, who tore away from the Pope's finger "the pontifical ring," and treated him with great inhumanity. On the day following, the Republican leaders directed that a *Te Deum* should be sung in the Vatican for the fall of the temporal power, and that the establishment of the Republic should be announced by the discharge of artillery by the military battalions in the Square of St. Peter, under the windows of the Pope. On February 20, 1798, Pius VI. was carried away a prisoner into Tuscany by the French, and the Cardinals were dispersed. After a short sojourn at Siena, the Pope was finally placed in the old Carthusian monastery near Florence. He was separated from the Cardinals, some of whom took refuge in the kingdom of Naples, while others repaired to Venetia, which, by the Treaty of Campo-Formio, had been ceded to the House of Austria.

The Papacy seemed at that time to be exposed to imminent danger. The health of the Pope, undermined by his troubles and by the advance of old age, indicated that his death could not be far distant. The complete dispersion of the Cardinals, however, disorganized the machinery for the election. The last Bull was plainly insufficient, because it had not provided for that emergency. The great difference of opinion among the Cardinals had reference to the place where the Conclave should be held. The fear was that those in the

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Venetian States, in the event of the Pope dying without any arrangement as to the summoning of the Conclave, might, as the Cardinal Dean, the principal officer of the Conclave was with them, under the influence of royal pressure, meet and proceed to an unlawful election. They might say that his presence made them a legislative representation of the Sacred College. The object was to induce the Pope to pass an instrument which would effectually prevent the evil in question. As he was enfeebled both in body and mind, he shrank from the responsibility involved in this step. At length Cardinal Antonelli, having sought and obtained an interview with the Pope, proposed a Bull to him, with the substance of which he expressed his agreement. The Dean with two or three others was to be empowered to name a place for the election of the Pope. The Cardinals were to be authorized to give their votes by Proxies held by one of their body. This proceeding was objectionable for two reasons. The first was that it was without precedent; and the second was that it exposed the Cardinals to the penalties inflicted on those who treated of the election of the Pope during his lifetime.

Pius at first consented to this proposal; but he became afterwards very uneasy when he reflected on the consequences of the step which he had agreed to take on his own authority. He, therefore, now shrank from the issue of the Bull. He

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consulted the Cardinals, especially those in Venetia. The impression made on their minds was decidedly unfavourable to the proposal. The Pope, therefore, determined to drop the Bull. But neglect to pass a special measure dealing with an unprecedented situation was contrary to the general desire. Accordingly a second draft of a Bull dealing with the case came to be considered. Monsignore Michel de Pietro, residing at Rome as delegate of the Pope, drew up a paper which enabled the Pope to provide for the safety of the Church. This Bull was not at once sent to the Pope, but was forwarded to the Cardinals in Venetia for their opinion. The latter at once expressed their approval of it. The Bull was also sent for approval to the Cardinals in all the countries not invaded by the French armies. Having been improved and signed by the Pope, it was issued at Florence on November 13, 1798.

This Bull marks an epoch in Papal legislation. The wonder is that it should have been forgotten by the world. Even Lucius Lector and Berthèlet do not give us sufficient information to enable us to form a correct idea of its nature and importance. Both keep in the background the danger of a schism likely to be caused by the dispersion of the Cardinals. Berthelet seems not to know, or at all events neglects to state, the real cause of the unwillingness of Pius to issue the Bull, which was that he did not like to act without his Cardinals,

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A careful examination of Baldassari's work, and other works, is necessary to enable us to come to a correct conclusion. This was really an important crisis in the history of Europe. The consequence of neglecting to issue that Bull might have been, as we have just stated, a schism which, in the temper of the public mind at that time, might have inflicted a lasting injury on the Papacy. Thus, just as in the case of the Forty Years' Schism, two or three Popes might have been seen wandering about Europe, and, if not anathematizing one another, at all events claiming the allegiance of the faithful. They would have been elected by the different bodies of Cardinals in the place where they had taken up their abode. This Bull was framed so as to prevent that evil. The oldest Cardinal in the Sacred College, or the senior among the priests who were with him at the time of his death, was to notify his death to all the other Cardinals. In order to prevent the evil of several elections or schisms, the Conclave was to be formed of the largest number of Cardinals who might be together in the territory of one Catholic sovereign. The oldest of this group of Cardinals was to fix, after consulting his colleagues, the most suitable place for the Conclave. The Cardinals composing the majority under these conditions of residence, were declared to constitute a Conclave empowered to settle all questions relating to the manner of the election, and to proceed to that

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election without any summons, provided ten days had been allowed to elapse, after notification of the Pope's death, that Cardinals at a distance might join their colleagues. In no case was the election to be valid without the majority of two-thirds of the Cardinals.

The issue of this Bull was justified by the event. After the occupation of Florence by the French troops, Pius VI., having been treated with every indignity, was conducted through Lombardy and Piedmont to France, where he died at Valence on August 26, 1799. The preparations for the Conclave were made in conformity with the directions in the Bull. As the reverses of the Revolutionary armies had left part of Italy to its former masters, the Cardinals were able on the death of Pius VI. to avail themselves of the permission given to them, and to hold the Conclave in Venice, where the greatest number were assembled. In that city, after a long and laborious Conclave, which might have been still longer without the facilities afforded by the Bull of Pius, they elected on March 14, 1800, Barnabas Chiaramonti, who took the name of Pius VII. We have proof that the legislation of Pius VI. was not forgotten in subsequent times. We have authority for the statement that Gregory XVI. left behind him a document empowering the Cardinals to proceed to an immediate election if they saw any difficulty in the way of the free action of the Conclave. We know now that Pius

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IX. availed himself of these precedents. After the entrance of the troops of the King of Italy within the walls of Rome on September 20, 1870, there had been an insurrectionary movement in the metropolis. Pius IX. at that time contemplated the possibility of a Conclave outside the walls of Rome, and had made preparations for a retreat to one of the Mediterranean islands, but was diverted by Cardinal Antonelli from carrying that project into effect. On July 3, 1871, the Italian capital was transferred to Rome by the suffrages of the Romans. We now learn that Pius IX., apprehensive of danger, guided by the precedents supplied by Pius VI. and Gregory XVI., on August 23, 1871, prepared a Bull adapted to the crisis. The existence of this Bull and of those which will be given afterwards had been for a long time suspected. The secret had, however, been so well kept that even after the Conclave of Leo XIII. their existence was unknown. All the Bulls were published for the first time by Commendatore Berthelet at the end of 1891.

The Bull for August 23, 1871, directs that without waiting for the arrival of the other Cardinals and the Pope's obsequies, on the expiration of the usual nine days, those present in the town where the Pope dies shall decide by a simple majority in what "corner of the earth the Conclave shall assemble"; that the election may take place when the half of the members of the

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Sacred College *plus one* shall be found in the Conclave; that no alteration shall be made in the schedule for voting or in the election by ballot and scrutiny; and that the majority of two-thirds shall always be required for a valid election.

The Bull for September 8, 1874, simply gives a few new directions in regard to the functions of the Conclave, and prescribes the simplification of the obsequies of the Pope.

The regulations for the next Conclave are specified with greater precision in the Bull of October 10, 1877, which sums up all previous regulations.

Article I. confirms to the Sacred College the exclusive right of electing the Pope, to the absolute exclusion of any intervention on the part of the Secular Power.

Article II. provides that, with a view to accelerate the election, the Cardinals may dispense with the accessory ceremonials of the Conclave as set forth by previous enactments. They can take what measures they think proper for the safety and organization of the Conclave, the meals, and the reduction of the number of the Conclavists.

Article III. annuls all previous rules concerning the duties of the civil and municipal magistrate in connection with the Conclave.

Article IV. states that in the event of the death of the Pope taking place at Rome, the Cardinals present in the Curia at the moment of his decease,

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shall decide by an absolute majority of voices if the election shall take place out of Rome and out of Italy. As soon as the number of Cardinals present shall be *one half plus one* of all the members of the Sacred College, they may, if they think fit, proceed immediately to an election.

Article V. enacts that the funeral ceremony shall be as simple as possible.

By Article VI., the Pope, having regard to the position of the Holy See, expresses his wish that the Conclave may be held out of Italy.

Article VII. prescribes that if the Cardinals shall decide on holding the Conclave in Italy and even at Rome, if there shall be any infringement of the respect due to the place of meeting, or their personal independence, either by private persons or the agents of the Government, the Conclave must be dissolved and must assemble out of Italy.

Articles X. and XIII. require that these laws shall remain in force, unless they are abrogated or modified by the successor of Pius; and that no alteration shall be made in the conditions of the election and in the majority required and in the order of the scrutineers, or in the voting papers.

Another Bull was written by Pius on January 10, 1878, the day after the death of Victor Emmanuel. It gives minute instructions as to what is to be done in the event of any attempt on the part of the Italian Government to approach the Vatican

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in a friendly or hostile manner, and breathes throughout an uncompromising and unbending spirit.

We have thus seen the final development of the Conclave system. We have felt it to be our duty to criticize very severely many of the arrangements connected with it. Our object has been to give our readers a clear idea of the laws which govern it and of the circumstances which have contributed to its growth. We have seen that the experience of past evils has suggested remedies for them which have caused it to assume its present form. The manner in which the system has acted is often very dramatic, always deeply interesting, not only to the student of ecclesiastical history, but also to the observer of human nature. We cannot doubt that the result of the examination of the archives at the Vatican and in the houses of the nobility will be to open to us a new page in the history of Europe, and to disclose to us the causes of some of the political movements in the nations forming the great European commonwealth.

The recent inquiry has shown us that an organism which at first sight seems framed on the most rigid formalism, contains within itself an elasticity which renders it capable of adaptation to new forms and circumstances. The constitution of the Court of Rome is, therefore, so far from being of a limited nature that, as we have seen,

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especially during this century, it can at once be adjusted to the circumstances which imperatively require a change. No limitation is imposed on the full power of the governing body. If then it be the case that present circumstances exact changes for the removal of difficulties which seem otherwise insurmountable, it is certain that the Pope is at perfect liberty to make any concessions which the circumstances of the case seem to require.

Lucius Lector does not think that Leo XIII. will feel himself required to avail himself of the power thus conceded to the Pope, nor to make any alteration in the organism established by the Bull of Pius IX. His object has been to complete and strengthen the system which he aided Pius IX. to establish. He has not modified the substance of the Bull. The most important of the conditions laid down is that which excludes all interference of the civil power in the election of the Pope. Now, as we learn from Lucius Lector, a very great difference of opinion as to a legitimate interference exists between the Papal authorities and the kingdom of Italy. The Government of King Humbert has declared that the Vatican forms an integral part of the states of the Church transferred to Italy, and that it belongs to the Government by the same title as the Lateran Palace and the Capitol. M. Crispi advanced a

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claim to protect the Conclave, which implies a right to occupy the Vatican and to put its gates under seal. Again, if France, or Spain, or Austria should exercise their veto against the election of particular candidates, which, as we have seen, they have always possessed, it seems almost certain that Italy, as she has since former days become a nation, will insist on the possession of the same privilege. Now these claims, if made, will, as the Pope has declared, be firmly resisted. The consequence may be that the Pope may carry his threat into execution, and may, with the Sacred College, bid an indignant farewell to Italy. The result may be political complications which, as in former times, through the Roman Catholic Church, may disturb the peace of Europe. Perhaps, as in the case of the seventy years' residence at Avignon, the Roman Catholic world, and the people of Italy especially, will lose their reverence for the Pope because he is separated from a city hallowed by the sacred associations of ages, and from that mighty shrine which rises in stately grandeur above the supposed tomb of the chief of the Apostles.

Thus we may see a new chapter opened in the long, eventful, and romantic history of that remarkable Church, which, as Lord Macaulay writes, carries the mind back to the times when "the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and

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camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre," and which, he ventures to predict, "will exist in undiminished vigour when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's."

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